

NORTH CAROLINA DEFENDERS OF STATES' RIGHTS, INC.

National Integrity, Constitutional Government, Racial Integrity
States' Rights, Individual Liberties, Private Property.

336½ South Salisbury Street, Raleigh, N. C.

P. O. Box 1613

Dear Sir:

If you believe in racial segregation, States' Rights, and Constitutional government, then we invite you to become a member of our organization. We are enclosing a copy of our platform. Unless we are willing to fight to preserve our Southern and democratic society, then the NAACP and the Communist Party and their "liberal" and left-wing adjuncts will bring upon us a mongrel society, neither white nor truly Colored, along with an authoritarian dictatorship. We are opposed to these things. We can use your help. Fill in the enclosed membership application, and send us a contribution. Let us preserve our races and our system of free enterprise.

Yours very sincerely,

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Please check one or more of the following blanks:

- () I apply for General Membership in the organization, NORTH CAROLINA DEFENDERS OF STATES' RIGHTS, INC.

Enclosed herewith is my General Membership fee of \$3.00

- () In addition to my membership fee, I would like to make a contribution to your organization in the amount of

\$_____ \$5.00 \$10.00 \$25.00 \$50.00 \$100.00 \$_____

(Underline or fill in amount.)

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Which Way the Nation — — Which Way the South?

***A Re-evaluation and an Appraisal
of some of the basic issues pertinent to our survival***

**An Address by the
Reverend James P. Dees
Statesville, North Carolina**

to the

**Citizens' Council of Greater New Orleans
Municipal Auditorium
New Orleans, Louisiana**

The following observations have been made concerning this address:

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Dear Mr. Dees:

I have read your address before the Citizens' Council of Greater New Orleans, and I want you to know that, in my opinion, it is a most excellent treatise of the subject and one of the best exposés of the conspiracy of the race mixers that I have seen since the beginning of the fight on May 17, 1954, when the Supreme Court handed down that infamous decision ordering public school integration . . .

Sincerely yours,  
Hugh G. Grant

(Mr. Grant is a former member of the State Department and United States Minister to Albania and Thailand (Siam), and an organizer and First President of the States' Rights Council of Georgia.)

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Dear Mr. Dees:

Thank you for sending me your remarkable address to the Citizens' Council of Greater New Orleans. It is exhaustive, scholarly, closely reasoned and, to my way of thinking, highly convincing . . .

Sincerely yours,  
Tyre Taylor

(Mr. Taylor is an attorney in Washington, D.C., and is General Counsel for the SOUTHERN STATES INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL.)

Judge Henry W. Grady, the great Southern statesman, once said: "If I die, I die serving the South, the land I love so well. Father fell in battle for it. I am proud to die talking for it." We need in the South today more men of Judge Grady's caliber.

I would like to bring to you a story told by Governor Bob Taylor of Tennessee, quote, "An old politician once shouted from the stump, 'Fellow citizens, I know no North, I know no South, I know no East, I know no West,' and a barefoot boy yelled from the gallery, 'You'd better go and study Geography.' I think the boy was right. I believe in sectional lines, so long as they are not the demarcation of prejudices. I believe that the sectional lines of choice and patriotism are the very safeguards of the republic. I believe not in sectional hatred, but in sectional patriotism which loves home better than any spot on earth. I would despise the Yankee who does not love the rocks and rills of New England better than all the roses and palms and dreamy landscapes of the whole South. I would loathe the Westerner who does not believe that sixteen pounds of silver is as good as one pound of gold, especially if he owns a silver mine, but I love the land of Dixie best. There the oranges and magnolias bloom, except when blighted by a blizzard from the land of Yankee Doodle." Governor Bob Taylor roundly expresses my own sentiments. I love the Southland, my home. (from *A Treasury of Southern Folk Lore* by B. A. Botkin.)

I want to thank you all for your kind invitation to be here with you tonight to share with you my thoughts on some of the most crucial issues facing our Southland today, and not only the South, but the North, South, East and West, and the entire world — the issue of race relations and rule by law.

We read of stirrings in England and

South Africa and in the East; and we may be sure the implications of this problem are worldwide.

Tonight I would like to try to give you some observations on some of the facets of these problems as I see them; and in doing this, I necessarily will have to deal with the various phases in a very summary fashion.

To begin with, as many of you know, I consider myself to be a segregationist.

I am a strong believer that segregation works to the best interests of all races when there are large numbers of more than one race concerned. In a very summary fashion, the basic reasons why I believe in segregation are:

First, I believe that segregation is in accord with the Divine will of God as manifested in the created order. God created the races separate and distinct and, according to the Good Book, although "of one blood," he "hath determined the bounds of their habitation," and I think that tampering with His creation is a violation of His will. We see segregation in the natural order among the birds, the fish, etc., and it is unnatural to try to force an unnatural state of being.

I feel that every race has a responsibility under God for its own self-development, and a responsibility to make a contribution as a race to God's world. A race cannot fulfill this end if it is destroyed in the process of amalgamation. I think, also, that it is natural for a person to desire a race of his own in which, among fellow members of his race, he can develop to his fullest maturity, emotionally, morally, intellectually, spiritually, and in every way. Well-adjusted people become well-adjusted within the confines of their own race and family and people. Integration is conducive to inner tensions that disintegrate the personality. I think that these observations should be self-evident. I am remind-

ed of a remark by the Negro George Washington Carver. He said, "It is no disgrace to be a Negro, and I don't want to be white."

Secondly, there is no doubt in my mind but that the current proponents of integration are advocates of *total integration*, not just integration of the schools and churches. These are just the first steps. They would integrate the races completely. I do not think that there is any question of this. Total integration would result in amalgamation through intermarriage, and amalgamation will bring with it a consequent disintegration of the races, both white and negro, and the South of the future would consist of one mixed race and a mulatto culture. There is no question in my mind but that this is the ultimate consequence of the actions of the Integrationists and many of them readily confess that this makes no difference to them. Many of them are ministers in the various churches.

I quote from an Associated Press release from Orangeburg, S. C.: "Intermarriage will be a natural consequence of integration, an official for the N.A.A.C.P. said last night. He said, 'Once the two races are integrated, intermarriage is a natural consequence.'" Of course, what he said is the truth.

Thirdly, I am a segregationist because I believe that segregation *serves the best interest* of both the white and Negro races in the South. It provides each race with its own schools and churches and professional opportunities that contribute to the fullest maturing of individuals within his own race. I read recently a news account in a Negro newspaper of the Negroes' progress in one of our Southern cities. The article was headed, "Negroes Show Great Progress: Race Relations Rated Highest." This city was Gainesville, Georgia. I will quote a few statements from the article:

"Negroes have shown great economic gains and have taken active part in the

civic and economic advancement of the city. Two Negroes are identified on the School Board . . . The white business executives are proud of the wonderful relationship existing between the races . . . The Chief of Police, said, 'We are proud of the wonderful relationship between the police department and the Negroes of Gainesville.'"

The reports that I see of northern race relations where integration is given "lip service" by some, hardly bear out a similar pattern there, especially when we consider the race riots, in particular in Chicago, where more police were used to patrol the race-conflicts than are employed in the entire South, for similar work, or the race riots in Detroit, Boston, Buffalo, New York, and other northern cities. Segregation contributes to better race relations and a happier state of mind by members of both races.

I would like to call to your attention at this point a few of the cliches and arguments of some of our Integrationist friends: They say that segregation is un-Christian. There is no single statement in the Bible which can be used, in my opinion, to support this contention. On the other hand, there are many admonitions to the Jews to preserve the created order as God created it. They are told not to mix their cattle, not to mix their seed, and they are told not to mingle with the people of the land. This seems to me to be a clear indication that it is God's will that His natural order be preserved as He created it, if this Scripture is accepted as valid Scripture.

Another assumption, erroneous in my opinion, is that "All men are equal." This, obviously, is not true — on the face of it. There are no two things equal under the sun, individuals or races or anything else.

We are told that the only difference is in the color of the skin. That this is utter nonsense is self-evident. There are differences, for example, in intelligence, in

morality, in natural creativity, — for instance, shown in the development of music, art, government, economic systems. This is so apparent that it needs hardly to be said. Other things which different races have produced are hospitals, schools, and other social institutions. What, by comparison, has the Negro race contributed of these things which we consider elements of human progress? I am of the opinion that segregation is more Christian than integration because segregation promotes the best interests of the whole of society and of all the races. I see no particular virtue in destroying a people's race.

They refer to the Negro being stigmatized as a "second class citizen" because of segregation. Segregation does not make a race second class. If a race is considered second class, it is because it is second class. If segregation per se denoted second class citizenship, then why should not the white people be considered second class as much as the negro? This is just another of the cliches for argument's sake. The Bible tells us, "Love thy neighbor." We love him when we do what we think is best for him. That which is best is that which promotes the fullest harmony and development of his personality. I have no question but that segregation does this far better than integration.

We hear the argument that we should support integration because it is the "law of the land." I am not in accord with this thinking. In the first place, the Supreme Court does not make the law. It merely interprets the law, and the law of the Court is the law of the case and not the law of the land. In the second place, I am among those who contend that the Supreme Court usurped Legislative Authority in decreeing law by judicial fiat, and in doing so it violated its oath to support the law of the land which is based on the Constitution and the historic interpretations of that Constitution.

Senator Sam J. Irwin, Jr. said recently,

"It is sheer intellectual rubbish to contend that Americans are required to believe in the infallibility of judges or to make mental obeisance to judicial aberrations. The truth is that on many occasions during recent years the Supreme Court has usurped and exercised the power of Congress and the States to amend the Constitution while professing to interpret it" . . .

Such criticism of the Court has been made also by the American Bar Association and the Chief Justices of the State Supreme Courts. The Supreme Court in effect has taken away the power to make the law from the people, and it arrogates to itself both the right to make the law and to interpret it.

Dr. I. Beverly Lake, former Assistant Attorney General of the State of North Carolina, has stated, "My oath is an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, not an oath to accept the sociological and psychological assumptions of the United States Supreme Court. . . . It is not an oath to urge my neighbors to acquiesce meekly in repudiation of their heritage and betrayal of their posterity." We hear the Integrationists' argument that the Negroes are equal under God. If they mean by this that they have an equal claim to God's justice and mercy, then with that I heartily agree; but if they mean that everybody occupies the same status intellectually, morally, and spiritually before God and man, then anyone should know that this is "stuff and nonsense." Men and races are not equal morally and spiritually and intellectually before either God or man. That there are degrees of good and evil, right and wrong, error and truth, is universally accepted, I believe, except, perhaps, by some of our Integrationist friends whom I have heard argue to the contrary. The law of Natural Selection is a good law, and should not be violated. It is given to us to use for our survival and growth. Due deference should be given it, or we perish morally, socially, culturally, and in every way, as individuals and as a race.

The Integrationists tell us further that the Bible "as a whole" tells us that we should practice racial integration; and yet, with the exception of one or two questionable ones, they cannot show us a single verse of Scripture that says we should. Yet they say that "as a whole," it says so. I ask, what sort of reasoning is this? The whole thing says so, they say, and yet no specific part says so. It's like saying that a house is white, taken as a whole, but that no particular plank or board of it is white. Or that a man has gray hair, but that no particular hair is gray. This is nothing but projecting into the Bible wishful thinking. That no verse says so, but that the Bible says so, is sheer nonsense.

What the Bible *does* say is LOVE THY NEIGHBOR. I feel that I love my neighbor most in preserving his race for him, his race that he can call his own and in which among his own kind he can grow to fullest maturity, mentally, physically, spiritually, morally, and with emotional stability.

We hear it argued occasionally (conceding that the Negro is not the equal intellectually or morally of the white) that he would be equal if he had a chance, if his background were the equal of the white people. The evidence available does not support this contention. The U. S. News and World Report, in its Sept. 21, 1956 issue, published a report of the findings of Dr. Frank C. J. McGurk, Associate Professor of Psychology at Villanova University, which report was based on tests given to thousands of people of both races and of similar backgrounds. Dr. McGurk's conclusions from these tests is that Negroes are below whites in capacity for education, and he finds that improvement of Negroes' social and economic status does not reduce this difference, but rather *accentuates* the difference. These tests by Dr. McGurk were done with "paired" individuals, that is, pairs of white and Negro individuals of relatively the same socioeconomic background.

Mr. H. M. Roland, Supt. of the Schools in Wilmington, North Carolina, for 30 years, and more, has studied the difference between the races in his schools, and he is of the same opinion. I have (here) a chart showing the differences in the achievement rating on standard tests of high school graduates of both races given in 1954. 363 white children took the test; 172 Negro children took it. Of these who ranked in the top group, considered capable of passing work at any university, there were 102 white children and 1 Negro. The bottom group was considered only on the elementary grade level, and it was stated that a high school diploma does not belong to this group. In this group were 21 white children and 125 Negroes. "This test," says Mr. Roland, "is typical of results over a period of 35 years of testing of both races."

From this statement by Mr. Roland, I quote further: "The northern integrated schools show a similar situation. (Read Newsweek, July 25, 1955, page 64). 'In 50 large northern schools with 30 percent Negro enrollment, only a fraction of one percent of the Negroes became eligible for college.' He says, 'Integration does not solve the problems, it multiplies them.' I will give you evidence of this multiplying later on.

Some argue that we should treat the Negroes as individuals and place the more intellectual ones in the white schools. I see no particular merit in that. What is wrong with the Negroes having superior students in their own schools? What merit is there, per se, in depriving a Negro child of his race and placing him in a white school to experience the destructive tensions that are natural to the natural order, ingrained naturally in races to protect their identity. Furthermore, I would ask, do the superior Negro students and their parents feel no responsibility for remaining with and helping to raise the general standards of their own race? Failing to do this would seem to me to be gross ingratitude to the race that bore them.

One of the reasons for the plea of the Integrationists for integration has been that certain unChristian acts, lynchings, etc. and circumstances have taken place or existed in the segregated society, one of them being the alleged inequality of the school buildings. One Southern Governor has said, "When schools are unequal, the remedy is not to destroy the schools or the law. The remedy is to require that the schools be made equal." Bishop Albert S. Thomas, retired, of the Diocese of South Carolina, has said, "Where segregation is unChristian, this is due to man's fallen nature, *not to segregation itself.*" On account of some injustices that have occurred, which injustices we recognize, the integrationists would destroy the framework of our Southern Culture, the bi-racial society under which both races have prospered greatly, — more so than anywhere on earth, and would introduce into the South the jungle of Harlem and Washington, D. C. It is like saying that because our capitalistic system and democracy and our system of free enterprise have not worked *perfectly*, we ought, therefore, to chuck it all out and have Communism. The unChristian acts and circumstances that occur and exist in our bi-racial society should be eradicated without our eradicating our bi-racial society, which is absolutely necessary to the well-being of both the white and Negro races.

We hear it contended that the Church has spoken on this subject of integration, and that therefore we should obey its injunction to integrate. A number of things might be said in reply to this, but I shall try to be brief. First of all, in my opinion, the Churches have no business handing down edicts on this subject that is primarily anthropological and sociological in nature, and not an issue of the historic Faith. The Church has gotten out of its field and is attempting to attend to what it has no business attending to. I feel that the Church pronouncements are wrong. A wrong Church pronouncement is nothing new. Church pronouncements have been

wrong before, as any student of Church history knows. The classic example is the Arian heresy of the fourth Century, when the Church persecuted that staunch defender of the faith, Athanasius, who practically alone, stood up against the false teaching of the Bishops and the Church Councils and finally prevailed. He was known in history as Athanasius *contra mondo* — Athanasius "against the world." The Church erred. The Church has erred again. It has erred in becoming involved in this issue of racial integration and Constitutional Law, and the related subjects, that it is not equipped factually to deal with.

The Clergy and the Church have done themselves irreparable harm in stooping to become overly involved in these worldly matters, and they have divested themselves of their spiritual influence and authority in the eyes of the people who look to them to be faithful shepherds of their flock and dispensers of God's Word. The Gospel is neither segregation nor integration, but the integration minded Clergy have virtually equated integration with the Gospel, and they seem more vitally concerned about the promulgation of it than in promoting the Peace of God, being willing to threaten even the welfare of the Church itself, if it does not come to accept their position of integration which we feel will lead to amalgamation of the races and the introduction of a negroid culture generally. This social philosophy seems to have them in its grasp. This racial integration philosophy is an offshoot of the "levelling" philosophy of Communism, and is a disease that has stricken the integrationists, and they do not recognize it for the disease it is. I recommend to them that they eschew this foul disease and by the Grace of God let themselves be apprehended of the true Gospel of Jesus Christ, which is concerned basically with the personal salvation of the individual soul. I am reminded of the admonition of our Lord, "Seek

ye first the Kingdom of God, and all of these things shall be added unto you."

We hear people say that we should practice integration for the sake of our prestige with the rest of the world, with the Communist countries, etc. Are we to destroy our race and society and public education in order to please the rest of the world and the Russians that manifestly are away behind us in almost any sphere you care to mention, except possibly atomic missiles, which hardly is a contribution to the higher life? Some of the near East countries, whose censorship we are told to fear, still practice slavery. They keep human beings in physical bondage. They will cut off a man's hand for stealing. Am I not concerned more about the future welfare of my children than about what the Russians or the Iraqi or the Chinese think about a question of which they have no firsthand knowledge whatsoever? Compare their civilizations with ours. Compare the world leadership of other nations with that of the United States.

In the final analysis, it seems to me that the question of integration finally must be resolved in the light of what is in the best interests of society, of all concerned, both white and Negro, and in the light of what is in the best interests of public education.

We know only too well from press reports the condition in northern areas where integration is being practiced. The following is an excerpt from a friend in a northern city. This fits into the pattern, giving us further insight into social conditions that follow integration.

"We have about 600,000 colored in this city of about 2,000,000. They are driving all the whites into the suburbs. They are taking over the fine Germantown section . . . The crime wave in these parts is something terrific. The papers are full of attacks on women. They are not satisfied in robbing them but they beat them with iron pipes and a great number are shot if they resist. One colored man has just been

appointed a Judge; I hear that he was going to run for Mayor, so a deal was made. In many conventions they take over our best hotels. The situation here is not good but we don't know what to do about it . . . The conditions in the public schools is frightening. There have been murders, rape, etc., but the authorities seem to hush things up."

In seeking to resolve the question of integration or segregation, and especially in regard to the public schools, there are certain basic questions that should be faced and an objective answer sought.

In the final analysis, the question of segregation-integration **SHOULD** be resolved in the light of what is in the best interests of public education and of all concerned. Intelligent action must be based on the answers to several questions. Here are some of the basic questions:

1. Will integration produce the goal of the Supreme Court's May 17, 1954 decree? (Integration is designed to make the races equal in intelligence and achievement.)  
Some places have been working at this for about a century. If they have failed it would mean the futile sacrifice of millions to plunge all our children into a doubtful experiment, the melting pot of racial amalgamation, from which they would not be able to emerge. A sane policy rests on the answer to this question.
2. What is the actual situation in *really* (and not "token") *integrated* school systems?
  - (a) Have racial relations improved?
  - (b) Do white parents really leave integrated areas?
  - (c) Does juvenile crime increase in integrated communities?
  - (d) Has classroom and school discipline become a greater problem?
  - (e) Is the 'teen age sex problem more pronounced when schools integrate?

3. How does integration affect the Negro?
  - (a) Does face to face competition with whites erase the Negro feeling of inferiority?
  - (b) What happens to school social life in an integrated school?
  - (c) How will Negroes rate scholastically with the whites?
  - (d) Do Negroes from wealthy and cultured homes show equal ability and achievement with similar whites, in integrated schools?
  - (e) How does the Negro teacher rate scholastically with the white teacher?

#### 4. WHERE ARE THE INTEGRATED SCHOOL SYSTEMS TO SERVE AS "MODELS OF SUCCESS" FOR THE SOUTHERN SCHOOL OFFICIALS TO STUDY?

Let us turn now briefly and take a look at what happened when the schools integrated in Washington, D.C. We were told by some that the Negroes didn't really want integration; that they only wanted *to be able* to integrate, and thus have the stigma removed of being compelled to be separate. In five years, from 1953 till 1958, the percentage of Negro enrollment rose from 0 to 87%. In McKinley High School, it rose from 0 to 92%; and in Eastern High School, it rose from 0 to 97%. This is what happens when the Negroes are turned into a public school. The Negroes move in and the whites, to save their children the horrors (and I use the term horrors advisedly) move out. 103,000 white people have moved out of the District of Columbia since the Supreme Court handed down its infamous school integration decree in 1954. 103,000. Would 103,000 people move out because of imaginary fears? Would it not take real fears, substantiated in historical experience? Reports state that the National Capitol now numbers 53% Negro population, and over 70% Negro school enrollment. In 1957 the U. S. House of Representatives investigated the situations

existing in the Washington schools as a result of school integration. This committee issued a voluminous report. It is impossible to consider here the entire report.

I won't even begin to try to give you all of the Findings and Conclusions of this report, but I would like to bring you a few excerpts from their Findings and Conclusions. These excerpts are taken verbatim from the report of the House Committee, prepared by the Government Printing Office. I quote the Report, in part:

- " . . .
4. The wide disparity in mental ability to learn and educational achievement between the white and Negro students has created a most difficult teaching situation in the integrated schools.
  6. Discipline problems and delinquency resulting from the integration of the schools has been appalling . . . This condition had a very pronounced effect in retarding the educational progress of the students. A continuation of this situation will ultimately destroy the effectiveness of teaching in the integrated schools.
  7. The sex problems in the predominately integrated schools have become a matter of vital concern to parents. One out of four Negro children born in the District of Columbia is illegitimate. The number of cases of venereal disease among Negroes of school age has been found to be astounding and tragic. The Negro has demonstrated a sex attitude from the primary to high school grades that has greatly alarmed white parents . . .
  9. On the average, the Negro students, because of limited achievements are unable to compete scholastically with the more advanced white students. This condition imposes upon the slower students a psychological barrier denoting inferiority, and manifests itself in social misbehavior."

I would like to read for you now one statement from this report that I consider to be typical of the whole report, and if anyone questions this, he is free to get and read the entire report. This statement is made by one John Paul Collins, who was principal of the Eastern High School and saw his school suffering the throes of integration. His is testimony under oath to the Congressional Committee. Efforts have been made by the NAACP and their fellow-travelers to discredit this investigation by the Committee; but facts are facts and should be properly evaluated as facts and not as theory or someone's preconceptions of what *might* happen. I will read you Mr. Collins' statement, taken verbatim from the Report of the House Committee:

"My name is John Paul Collins. After 34 years in the District of Columbia school system, I retired last year as a result of ill health directly attributable to the conditions that developed in Eastern High School after the integration of the District schools.

"During my tenure in the District school system I served as Principal at Anacostia High School and Eastern High School.

"After integration of the schools in 1954, I called a meeting of the school faculty at Eastern High School and emphatically told the teachers that if they let down the bars on discipline they would be discharged. In spite of the best efforts put forth by the teachers, however, the problem of discipline was tremendous.

"I found it necessary to require that all teachers leave their desks when the bell rang and keep order in the corridors.

"At times, I heard colored girls at the school use language that was far worse than I have ever heard, even in the Marine Corps.

"White children manifested a spirit of cooperation to help the colored children become acclimated, but these efforts were not particularly successful.

"Fighting, including several knifings, went on continuously. While such incidents had occurred occasionally in previous years, they became more or less commonplace following integration, to the point of creating a serious disciplinary problem.

"There have been more thefts in Eastern in the last two years than I had known in all my 30 odd years in the school system. A teacher still active at Eastern told me recently that stealing is now so rife at the school that it is no longer practical to attempt to report all stealing incidents.

"There were many sex problems during the year following integration. The first evidence of this came about when some colored boys began writing notes to the white girls, telling them their phone numbers and asking the girls for their numbers in return.

"I overheard two colored boys making obscene remarks about a white girl who was passing in the hall. I promptly suspended these boys until such time as I could get satisfactory assurances from their parents that they would discontinue such conduct. My authority to do this was questioned by the Administration, but I stuck to my guns.

"White girls complained of being touched by colored boys in a suggestive manner when passing them in the halls. One white girl left school one afternoon and was surrounded by a group of colored boys and girls. One of the colored boys put a knife at her back, marched her down an alley and backed her up against a wall. While the group debated as to whether they should make her take her clothes off, she broke away and ran home.

"The girl's mother called me about the incident and I sent an experienced counselor to investigate the affair. The counselor reported that he saw the hole where the knife penetrated the girl's coat. We were never able to get the names of the students that were involved.

"On another occasion a colored girl complained to me that a colored boy had exposed himself to her in the classroom. I got hold of the boy and found him to have a record of sex offenses and recommended that he be removed from Eastern. This recommendation was accepted.

"Never in all of my experience have I observed such filthy and revolting habits in the lavatories. Some of the urinals were completely torn away from the walls. Nothing like this had ever occurred prior to integration, so far as I can recall.

"Colored children have been known to forge names at the school bank.

"There were a dozen or more colored girls who became pregnant during my last year at Eastern. Pregnancy among white girls was very rare, and had occurred only in isolated instances.

"The colored students dominated the failing groups, which were much larger than any year before integration.

"At least a dozen white teachers came to me during the year and requested me to initiate their retirement, because they said they could not endure the situation.

"The average colored student cannot keep up with the average white students academically. It appears to me that the former Division II schools did not maintain as high educational standards as the white schools. Most of the teaching effort appears to have been directed to the more capable colored students, while the others were made to sit quietly, while little attempt was made to teach them.

"Prior to integration, I loved and lived with my work, but the problems which I encountered after integration contributed to the failure of my health.

"Virtually all social activities were abandoned in Eastern after integration. This move was initiated by the white students, and was a great loss to the school, because

prior to integration they had a very happy and extensive social set-up.

"I can say from experience that integration has brought about a lowering of public school standards and student academic achievement in the District public schools. It has created problems of discipline that have disrupted educational processes.

"It has created grave social problems that cannot be solved under existing circumstances. This leads me to the obvious conclusion that our system of integration cannot be held out as any model to any community that has not, as yet, integrated its school system.

"John Paul Collins," Principal

*Facts are Facts, and speak for themselves. Who can question what is best, for both the Negro and the White children in the face of such devastating evidence.*

The Honorable Sam Ervin, Senator from North Carolina, in one of the fullest expositions of his views on racial problems, said: "They can only be solved by good will, intelligence, and patience at a local level. Racial segregation is not the product of racial prejudice. It results from the exercise of a most precious American right — the freedom to select one's own associates. Observations in the North, South, East and West show that whenever Americans are at liberty to select their own associates, they virtually always select as their associates members of their own race. Compulsory integration is fundamentally wrong because it robs the people affected by it of the freedom to select their own associates."

"Let me say a word about violence and bombings. I deeply regret such things. They bring discredit to our side. We must win this battle because of our stand on fundamental truth and on the Constitution without resorting to violence and anarchy. Resorting to such things is hardly a way to win friends and influence people.

They will alienate those who would otherwise give us their moral support. Let me say a word about private schools as a substitute for public schools. I feel very strongly that an effort to establish private schools simply to circumvent the Supreme Court's unfortunate decision is unwise. We have a solemn obligation in the South to help the poorer classes and our Negro brethren to obtain the best education possible. It is not only our duty but it will also in the long run be to our best interest. We must not let nine men on the Supreme Court destroy the public school system in the South. To approach it from the point of view of purely personal interest, the welfare of the white people in the South is directly determined by the welfare of our Negro brethren. We must not let our schools be closed because of the actions by our mutual enemies. These observations are not meant to be for or against private schools, generally speaking, but merely at the practice of setting up private schools as a substitute for public schools.

In one county in Virginia the public schools are closed. What is the N.A.A.C.P. doing to provide schools for the Negro children? White children are going to private schools. I do not think that the Supreme Court, as it is presently minded, will permit states to use public funds to support private schools in any way. Let us turn, now, for a little while to the basic issue that confronts our nation today.

The great problem that confronts our country, North, South, East and West, is not the problem of racial integration in the public schools, as tragic and profound and fraught with such dire consequences as it is. The great issue that confronts us is the issue of whether the people of these United States shall live under a government of law, undergirded by the Constitution as it is written and as it was intended, or whether they shall be governed by law made by a majority decision of nine men sitting on the Supreme Court Bench. This is the

basic issue. We need not here go into the background of these current occupants of the bench. Their backgrounds have been pretty thoroughly explored. What these nine men are doing is rewriting the Constitutional law as they see fit to, and when they see fit to. We need not belabor this point. It is amply testified to by Constitutional lawyers, members of Congress, the American Bar Association, to mention some.

The basic premise is that the Supreme Court does not have the authority to make the law. It has power only to proclaim the law. They have no authority whatever to change, because they think they see changed existing conditions, the fundamental law of the land. The law of the land is the law made by the people of the several states and is not subject to change at the whim of the Judiciary. Let us look very briefly and hurriedly at the basis for some of the current court decrees.

The infamous Black Monday decision of 1954 was based not on the Constitution, but on that book, *An American Dilemma*, by the imported Swedish sociologist. This denotes a new basis for the adjudicating of disputes. Some more recent decisions have been based on the Fourteenth Amendment. The Fourteenth Amendment is recognized by many historians to have a questionable status and to have been passed by "Carpetbagger" legislatures in the South and at the point of a bayonet. Even assuming the legal validity of the Fourteenth Amendment, the Fourteenth Amendment, when it was passed, did not envisage any such thing as the violation of a state's rights to manage its own schools as it saw fit to or to set up segregated schools.

The Federal Judiciary now, in effect, would change the intent of the Fourteenth Amendment as it was originally passed. To change the intent is to change the law, thus making new law — new Constitutional law. This as anyone should see, is a usurpation of legislative power by the Judi-

ciary, which power is not given to it by the Constitution. This, in effect, is evidence of the fact that the Supreme Court is usurping the authority of the legislative branch and appears to me to be a violation of their oath to support the Constitution of the United States as it existed when they took their oath of office. It seems to me to be apparent, therefore, from this reasoning, that the members of the Supreme Court have violated their oath to support the Constitution, and consequently they ought to be impeached.

The strength of Democracy is based in the maximum of autonomy and freedom for its integral units. In peril today are the rights and powers and freedoms of the individual states of these United States. The Constitution of the United States is the product of the separate states. It was made by them. The Federal Government is the creature of the individual states. The individual states are not the creatures of the Federal Government. In setting up the Federal Government, the individual states gave certain and limited powers to the Federal Government and they reserved all the rest for themselves. The states who ratified the Constitution foresaw such dangers from a strong and dictatorial central government and they reserved for themselves all powers not specifically delegated to the Federal Government.

The source of our trouble today, in my opinion, comes from those who would detract the rights of the individual states and swallow up their duly reserved Constitutional powers in an all-embracing federal government. I think that among those who are behind this movement are the agents of the international Communist conspiracy. If they can detract the powers of the forty-eight states and make them subservient to the federal government, then the Communist conspirators will have but one political agency to overthrow instead of the fifty-one encompassed in the fifty states and the federal government. I think there is some evidence of this in

their program in the so called Civil Rights bills pending now in Congress.

And so our struggle now is primarily and basically for the preservation of the Constitution which guarantees to the States their rights. The Constitution should be interpreted in the light of what it was intended to mean at the time it was written. The powers not specifically delegated to the federal government are reserved to the states. It seems apparent that our government based on Constitutional law is being riddled at the discretion of the Supreme Court. Are we going to let the Supreme Court make the law for our country or are we going to demand that the people make the law for our country through their duly elected representatives? *This is the basic issue.*

What are we going to do about it? What can we do about it? Are we going to stand idly by? The tactics of the South so far have been employed simply in a delaying action. We have set up fences here and there to have them struck down by the Judiciary. This will continue. Schools continue to be integrated all over the South. The policy of token integration is only a step in the direction of the Negro organizations' scheme of massive integration. In my opinion, the goal of the Integrators, working with the Supreme Court, is total amalgamation in the South, and a negro society. A prominent Negro lawyer of Richmond, Virginia, stated some time ago when a public school system was being evaluated, that it did not make any difference what facts were revealed, in the investigation, that the Federal Courts would decide in their favor anyway. Are we to continue to back down before these forces that are wrecking education and race relations and a harmonious society? Sometime ago I wrote one of our Southern Governors as follows:

"I feel that our efforts to circumvent the Supreme Court's decision and to get around them is a mistake. This leaves *their position unassaulted*. The Supreme

Court's position should be attacked head-on. We should not allow ourselves to be pushed all over the countryside by what I consider to be a gang of Constitution corruptors. If we will stand against them head-on, I am confident that the nation will rally behind us because of the basic rightness of our stand. Up until now the South, in its opposition to the Court, has been sparring with it in its efforts to evade the Court's decrees. What should be done is that the states should stand squarely on their rights and put the Supreme Court on the defensive for what we consider to be its violation of the Constitution. Our tactics should be changed in my opinion. The basic problem that we have, as you know, is that of the unbridled Court. The Court must be bridled and not run from or circumvented."

As I see it, there are two possible avenues of action to remedy the chaotic conditions in this area. One is simply to impeach some of the present members of the Court. The other is that of insisting on proper renditions of Constitutional law. The states and the people must resolve to stand and then stand immovable on their rights plainly stated in the Constitution and tell the Court so; that we stand according to the plain wording and the intent and law of the Constitution, and that we have no intention of submitting to court-made law that is in violation of historic Constitutional law and rights. This stand should be made not by individuals only, but by the individual states collectively. The administration of every state in the union, the Governor, the Attorney-General, and the legislative bodies should assume their solemn responsibility to protect the citizens of their State from the encroachments from any source of unconstitutionally assumed federal authority. The people should let the members of their state government know that they expect this of them and that they will stand behind them. Every state administration has this solemn responsibility to take this stand in behalf of their people. It must be

made plain to the Courts that they must withdraw their judicial decisions into the framework of the Constitution, or that that state consequently will refuse to accept them as the law of the land and thereby binding within its borders. And the state courts should be advised, and be themselves resolved, to let their decisions be governed by the state constitution and state law in so far as they are not contrary to established federal constitutional law. I believe heartily that the people throughout our nation will support such a program as this. I have no doubt of it. In my opinion, short of impeachment, this is the only course of action that will curb the unbridled course of the present Supreme Court.

As to the results of such a course of action, it is quite possible that the Federal Government will take action. It would be expected. Somebody might even have to go to jail, but I am of the opinion that it would not be for long. If the Federal Government and the Supreme Court took such action against responsible officers of the states, it would break its back in this constitutional issue. The constitutional issue is the basic issue and in my opinion it is on the school integration question that the constitutional issue can be settled, because I believe the people will back a State Administration that is standing on the constitutional issue in the integration question. If the Federal Government should take action, then it would become apparent to all and not to just a few that government according to constitutional law is really at an end. The price for making this apparent I feel would be justified.

Now is the time to put such a program into action. Eisenhower's sending of troops into Little Rock in my opinion strengthened the position of the South. If the Supreme Court took action against a responsible state officer for standing on his recognized constitutional rights, then that would be the end of the Supreme Court's violation of constitutional rights, generally speaking. I am of the strong opinion that

the country would react violently against the Supreme Court and demand their withdrawal in defeat. I believe that that would end the matter and that that is the only thing that will. Apparently the Supreme Court is beginning to withdraw, but I fear that this is only a tactical withdrawal, a strategic retreat.

What it will take, purely and simply, is determined men who see the issues and who are willing to stand and to take the consequences for their stand. They will win out and that soon, I believe.

The issue in the final analysis is whether or not this country is to be ruled by the law of the people expressed in the Constitution or whether it will be ruled by law of the Supreme Court's making.

In his book, *The Gathering Storm*, Sir Winston Churchill writes vividly of what was happening prior to the outbreak of World War II in 1939, speaking of the appeasements and withdrawals and efforts to placate the enemy. He reminds us of the enemy's growing strength. He speaks of the time when the West might have fought with ease but let the opportunity pass. He gives us due warning that we would do well to heed in our times.

"Here is a line of milestones to disaster," he says. "Here is a catalogue of surrenders, at first when all was easy and later when things were harder, to the ever

growing German power. But now at last was the end of British and French submission. Here was decision at last, taken at the worst possible moment and on the least satisfactory ground, which must surely lead to the slaughter of tens of millions of people. Here was the righteous cause deliberately and with a refinement of inverted artistry committed to mortal battle after its assets and advantages had been so improvidently squandered.

"Still, if you will not fight for the right when you can easily win without bloodshed; if you will not fight when your victory will be sure and not too costly; you may come to the moment when you will have to fight with all the odds against you and only a precarious chance of survival.

"There may even be a worse case. You may have to fight when there is no hope of victory, because it is better to perish than to live as slaves."

In my opinion, we are going through the most critical times in the history of the human race. Are the races to survive? Is Democracy, rule by the people, to survive? Unless we have enough men of wisdom and patriotism and strength, our civilization is lost.

I am of the opinion that a sufficient number of these men will be found. I have faith in the people that they will stand against this tyranny.

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